

Message Text

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SUBJECT: PAGE 1 ARTICLE BY RICHARD HALLORAN IN NYTIMES

OCTOBER 27, 1974

FOR AMBASSADOR ANDERSON FROM S/PRS

NO. 14

HEADLINE: JAPANESE REVEAL ORAL PACT ON US ATOM-ARMS ENTRY

QUOTE: TOKYO, OCT. 26--AUTHORITATIVE JAPANESE SOURCES

HAVE REVEALED THAT A SECRET AGREEMENT PERMITTING THE UNITED STATES TO MOVE NUCLEAR ARMS THROUGH JAPAN WAS CONCLUDED WITHOUT A JAPANESE TEXT SO THAT IT COULD BE DENIED IN THIS NUCLEAR-SENSITIVE NATION.

THE AGREEMENT WAS MADE IN 1960 BY AIICHIRO FUJIYAMA, THEN JAPAN'S FOREIGN MINISTER, AND DOUGLAS MACARTHUR 2D, THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR. ONLY AMERICAN OFFICIALS RECORDED THE ORAL AGREEMENT, IT IS NOW UNDERSTOOD. (REACHED IN BRUSSELS WHERE HE IS NOW A BUSINESSMAN, MR. MACARTHUR DENIED THAT THERE HAD BEEN SUCH AN AGREEMENT.)

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THE SECRET ACCORD ALLOWS AMERICAN WARSHIPS TO CARRY NUCLEAR

EAPONS INTO JAPAN DURING PORT CALLS AND AMERICAN AIRCRAFT TO BRING THEM IN DURING LANDINGS. BUT IT DOES NOT ALLOW THE UNITED STATES TO DEPLY OR STORE NUCLEAR ARMS IN JAPAN WITHOUT THE PERMISSION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

THE AGREEMENT WAS KEPT SECRET BECAUSE OF JAPANESE ADVERSION TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS SINCE THE BOMBINGS OF HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI AT THE END OF WORLD WAR II. A POLITICAL FIRE HAS FLARED UPON EVIDENCE THAT THE UNITED STATES, UNDER THE TRANSIT AGREEMENT, HAS BEEN MOVING NUCLEAR WEAPONS THROUGH JAPAN.

NOT HAVING THE AGREEMENT RECORDED IN JAPANESE HAS ALLOWED JAPANESE LEADERS TO DENY ITS EXISTENCE WITHOUT FEAR THAT SOMEONE WOULD LEAK A DOCUMENT TO PROVE THEM WRONG. THIS ARRANGEMENT ALSO MAKES IT APPEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES ALONE IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE TRANSIT OF NUCLEAR ARMS THROUGH JAPAN.

MR. FUJIYAMA, WHO IS STILL A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT, DECLINED TO BE INTERVIEWED ON THE ISSUE. OFFICIALS OF THE AMERICAN EMBASSY ALSO DECLINED COMMENT EXCEPT TO REFER TO EARLIER STATE DEPARTMENT REFUSALS TO COMMENT. MR. MACARTHUR HAS RETIRED FROM THE FOREIGN SERVICE AND IS IN BUSINESS IN BRUSSELS.

JAPANESE IN POSITIONS TO KNOW WHAT HAPPENED SAID THIS PIECE OF DIPLOMACY TOOK PLACE DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS IN LATE 1959 AND EARLY 1960 TO DRAFT A NEW SECURITY TREATY BETWEEN TOKYO AND WASHINGTON.

PRIOR TO 1960, THE UNITED STATES HAD NO RESTRICTIONS ON BRINGING WEAPONS INTO JAPAN. WHEN THE NEW TREATY WAS NEGOTIATED, THE PRIOR-CONSULTATION FORMULA WAS ADDED. IT SAYS THAT "THE MAJOR CHANGES IN THE DEPLOYMENT INTO JAPAN OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES, MAJOR CHANGES IN THEIR EQUIPMENT, AND THE USE OF FACILITIES AND AREAS IN JAPAN AS BASES FOR MILITARY COMBAT OPERATION SHALL BE THE SUBJECTS OF PRIOR CONSULTATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN."

THEN FOREIGN MINISTER FUJIYAMA AND MR. MACARTHUR, WHO IS UNCLASSIFIED

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A NEPHEW OF DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, DEFINED WHAT CONSTITUTED THE CHANGES THAT WOULD REQUIRE PRIOR CONSULTATIONS.

THEY AGREED THAT SUCH MAJOR CHANGE IN DEPLOYMENT MEANT BRINGING INTO JAPAN AN ARMY DIVISION OF 15,000 TO 20,000 MEN, OR AN AIR WING, OR A NAVAL TASK FORCE. THEY FURTHER AGREED THAT A MAJOR CHANGE IN EQUIPMENT MEANT BRINGING IN MEDIUM-RANGE OR LONG-RANGE MISSILES AND NUCLEAR

WARHEADS FOR USE BY AMERICAN FORCES IN JAPAN.

MR. FUJIYAMA AND MR. MACARTHUR FURTHER AGREED THAT OTHER CHANGES WERE NOT COVERED BY THE FORMULA.

THUS, ARMY REPLACEMENTS OR REINFORCEMENTS BY A BATTALION

OF 800 MEN DO NOT REQUIRE PRIOR CONSULTATION. NEITHER DOES THE REPLACEMENT OR ENTRY OF SQUADRONS OF ADDITIONAL AIRCRAFT. WARSHIPS CAN SAIL IN AND OUT FREELY. EVEN ASSIGNING THE AIRCRAFT CARRIER MIDWAY TO A HOME PORT IN YOKOSUKA, NEAR YOKOHOMA, DID NOT REQUIRE PRIOR CONSULTATION.

NOR DOES THE MOVEMENT OF WEAPONS, INCLUDING NUCLEAR ARMS, THAT ARE NOT ASSIGNED TO AMERICAN FORCES IN JAPAN REQUIRE PRIOR CONSULTATION. THE UNITED STATES, FOR INSTANCE, BROUGHT INTO JAPAN HUNDREDS OF TANKS DAMAGED IN THE WAR IN VIETNAM, HAD THEM REPAIRED AND SENT THEM BACK TO VIETNAM WITHOUT CONSULTING WITH THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT.

INDEED, THE PRIOR CONSULTATION FORMULA IS SO LOOSELY DEFINED THAT IT HAS NEVER BEEN INVOKED DURING ITS 14 YEARS OF EXISTENCE.

THE JAPANESE SOURCES SAID THE TRANSIT OF NUCLEAR AND OTHER WEAPONS WAS NOT DISCUSSED IN DETAIL IN 1960 BECAUSE JAPANESE OFFICIALS WERE MORE CONCERNED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT AMERICAN BASES MIGHT BE OUTSIDE JAPAN. THEY WANTED SOME CONTROL OVER THAT.

ONE SOURCE SAID JAPANESE AND AMERICAN OFFICIALS HAD AGREED THAT IF AN AMERICAN SHIP CALLING AT A JAPANESE UNCLASSIFIED

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PORT WAS NORMALLY ARMED WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS, NO MAJOR CHANGE OF EQUIPMENT WAS SAID TO TAKE PLACE AND THUS DID NOT REQUIRE PRIOR CONSULTATION.

ANOTHER SOURCE SAID: "THERE WERE MANY THINGS LEFT UNSAID; IT WAS A VERY SOPHISTICATED NEGOTIATION." THE JAPANESE ARE MASTERS AT UNDERSTOOD AND UNSPOKEN COMMUNICATION IN WHICH ONE IS ASKED TO DRAW INFERENCES FROM WHAT IS NOT ARTICULATED.

THE SOURCES SAID JAPANESE POLITICIANS AT THAT TIME DID NOT WISH TO CONFRONT THE NUCLEAR TRANSIT ISSUE IN DETAIL BECAUSE IT WAS TOO SENSITIVE IN DOMESTIC POLITICS. THUS JAPANESE OFFICIALS SAID TO AMERICAN OFFICIALS, IN EFFECT, "GO AHEAD AND DO IT, BUT DON'T TELL US OR THE JAPANESE

PEOPLE ABOUT IT."

JAPANESE OFFICIALS TODAY ASSERT THAT, IN RESPONSE TO PRESS REPORTS OF THE SECRET AGREEMENT, THEY HAVE SEARCHED THROUGH THE FILES AND CAN FIND NO WRITTEN MENTION OF A TRANSIT AGREEMENT. THUS, THEY SAY, FOREIGN MINISTER TOSHIO KIMURA CAN SAY THERE IS NO SUCH AGREEMENT AND NO ONE CAN PROVE HIM WRONG.

BUT AMERICAN OFFICIALS WROTE DOWN THE UNDERSTANDINGS REACHED BETWEEN AMBASSADOR MACARTHUR AND FOREIGN MINISTER FUJIYAMA. THEY EVIDENTLY CALLED THE NUCLEAR UNDERSTANDING A TRANSIT AGREEMENT AND PUT IT INTO THE RECORD OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

THE TRANSIT AGREEMENT TURNED UP ON PAPER IN 1969, WHEN A MEMORANDUM WAS WRITTEN BY A GROUP OF OFFICIALS FROM THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL STAFF, THE DEPARTMENTS OF STATE, DEFENSE, ARMY, COMMERCE AND THE TREASURY, THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF, THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY AND THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY.

THE MEMO COVERED UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH JAPAN, WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE POSSIBLE REVERSION OF OKINAWA TO JAPANESE CONTROL. IN THAT CONTEXT, THE PAPER NOTED THE NECESSITY OF PRESERVING THE NUCLEAR TRANSIT

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AGREEMENT AND EXTENDING IT TO OKINAWA AFTER THE TRANSFER OF CONTROL.

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NOTE: WASH STAR-NEWS PICKS UP HALLORAN STORY ON PAGE 8 VIA NYTIMES NEWS SERVICE.

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